

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02554 311850Z

42

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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O 311615Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2575

S E C R E T LUSAKA 2554

NODIS

DEPT PASS TO ASST SECTY SCHAUFLE IN DAKAR

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, AO, ZA

SUBJECT: ZAMBIAN VIEWS AND PREPARATIONS FOR OAU SUMMIT MEETING  
ON ANGOLA

1. AMBASSADOR MET WITH MARK CHONA OF ZAMBIAN PRESIDENCY DEC 31  
TO DEBRIEF HIM ON MY MEETING WITH ASST SECTY SCHAUFLE IN KINSHASA  
ON IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO SOVIET-CUBAN POWER PLAY TO ESTABLISH  
FOOTHOLD IN ANGOLA.

2. CHONA INTRIGUED BY LANGUAGE OF PRESENTATION AS GIVEN ME  
BY AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE AND ASKED FOR WRITTEN STATEMENT AS  
BACKGROUND FOR USE IN ZAMBIAN DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES PRIOR TO OAU  
SUMMIT. HE ESPECIALLY IMPRESSED WITH US CONCEPT OF OAU MECHANISM  
TO LEAD DISCUSSIONS AMONG FNLA/UNITA AND MPLA TO ACHIEVE  
RECONCILIATION AMONG THREE MOVEMENTS AND AGREEMENT FOR  
GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. IN EXCHANGE CHONA GAVE ME  
CONFIDENTIAL COPY OF PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ON  
ANGOLA (SEPTTEL) WHICH HE IS CIRCULATING "AMONG FRIENDS" IN  
LUSAKA DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY. HE ASKED FOR CRITICAL USG  
ANALYSIS OF STATEMENT AND DRAFTING SUGGESTIONS TO AVOID PITFALLS  
WHEN DOCUMENT FLOATED AT OAU SUMMIT BY SOME COUNTRY OTHER  
THAN ZAMBIA.

3. CHONA REFERRED TO ONE OF MAIN OBJECTIVES OF EXTRAORDINARY  
SUMMIT MEETING ON ANGOLA CONTAINED IN ZAMBIAN DRAFT STATEMENT  
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SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02554 311850Z

WHICH CALLS FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION OF A CEASEFIRE. CHONA

SAID ZAMBIA TENDED TO FAVOR A MIXED INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISORY COMMISSION NOT RPT NOT EXCLUSIVELY AFRICAN BECAUSE (A) ANGOLAN PROBLEM WAS ALREADY INTERNATIONALIZED WITH FOREIGN INTERVENTION, ESPECIALLY CUBAN, AND (B) MANY AFRICAN STATES HAD DISQUALIFIED THEMSELVES FROM SUPERVISORY ROLE BECAUSE OF RECOGNITION OF MPLA. ASKED WHAT COUNTRIES HE MIGHT HAVE IN MIND FOR SUPERVISORY TASK, CHONA SUGGESTED CANADA, SWEDEN, INDIA AND POSSIBLY SENEGAL. SAID GHANA WOULD HAVE BEEN IDEAL HAD THAT COUNTRY NOT RPT NOT RECOGNIZED MPLA. THOUGHT SOME SPANISH SPEAKING COUNTRY, PERHAPS VENEZUELA, NEEDED ON COMMISSION BECAUSE OF CUBAN PRESENCE, BUT CERTAINLY NOT URUGUAY OR PARAGUAY WHICH VISITED BY SAG PM VORSTER.

4. CHONA THEN SAID HE FELT ZAMBIAN THINKING AS REFLECTED IN PAPER WAS SUFFICIENTLY ADVANCED AT THIS STAGE TO CALL IN SOVIETS AGAIN. FOLLOWING LEGAL AND POLITICAL POINTS WOULD BE STRESSED: SOVIETS CANNOT USURP POWER OF ANGOLAN PEOPLE IN DICTATING NATURE AND COMPOSITION OF GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA ANY MORE THAN OAU CAN PRETEND IT IS AN ELECTORAL COLLEGE AND DECIDE ON WHO SHOULD GOVERN ANGOLA. CHONA SAID OAU HAD BEEN A LIBERATOR OF COLONIAL AFRICA BUT IT COULD NOT BE MAKER OF INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENTS.

5. CHONA WAS PLEASED WITH POINTS STRESSED BY AMBASSADOR SCHAUFELLE AT KINSHASA TO EFFECT US HAS NO RPT NO SPECIAL INTERESTS OR SPECIAL PLACE IN ANGOLA; IS NOT RPT NOT SEEKING FNLA/UNITA VICTORY AND IS NOT RPT NOT AGAINST MPLA PER SE, RATHER FAVORS PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION OF THREE WITH ASSISTANCE OF OAU. CHONA SAID HE WOULD USE THESE ARGUMENTS WITH SOVIETS AND ANY OTHER ARGUMENTS WHICH USG COULD PROVIDE ON URGENT BASIS FOR THIS SPECIFIC PURPOSE.

6. CHONA ASKED IF USG AS BIG POWER DID NOT FEEL TIME WAS RIGHT TO USE LEVERAGE OF ITS WHEAT SALES TO RUSSIA TO INSIST ON SOVIET AND CUBAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ANGOLA. I EXPLAINED POLITICAL REALITIES OF WHY THIS NOT RPT NOT A CHOSEN INSTRUMENT AT THIS TIME BUT CHONA WAS UNSYMPATHETIC TO ARGUMENTS, FEELING WE HAD UNUSED ECONOMIC TOOL FOR ACHIEVING OUR COMMON POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. I TOLD HIM I WOULD REPORT HIS SUGGESTIONS TO WASHINGTON WITH REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS.

SECRET

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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 02554 311850Z

7. CHONA ASKED THAT I PRESS USG TALKING POINTS AMONG FRIENDLY WESTERN DIPLOMATS IN LUSAKA AND HE WOULD BE DOING SAME, ESPECIALLY AMONG EEC LEADERS SUCH AS WEST GERMANY, FRANCE, ITALY, UK AND NETHERLANDS.

8. TURNING TO ACTUAL SITUATION IN ANGOLA AND PROBABILITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL BEFORE OAU SUMMIT, CHONA AGAIN ASKED ME WHAT US AND FRANCE MIGHT DO IN VACUUM CREATED BY SAG TROOP

PULLOUT. I RECALLED OUR EARLIER ASSURANCES OF UNUSED FINANCIAL RESOURCES. HOWEVER, CHONA MADE IT APPARENT PRESIDENT KAUNDA IS SEARCHING FOR MORE SPECIFICS ON TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT THAN I ABLE TO PROVIDE TO RELIEVE HIS DOUBTS FOLLOWING SENATE ACTION.

9. CHONA THEN URGED THAT USG DO ALL POSSIBLE SOONEST TO STEP UP PSYCHOLOGICAL WAREFARE BY RADIO WITHIN ANGOLA TO UNDERMINE MPLA BROADCASTS, WHICH STILL HAVE SUPERIORITY OF AIRWAVES. WE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR FNLA/UNITA VOICES SPEAKING UP FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. CHONA SAID.  
WILKOWSKI

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETING AGENDA, INTERVENTION, CAT-C, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, FORM OF GOVERNMENT  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Errors:** N/A  
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**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 27 AUG 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <27 AUG 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <17 DEC 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ZAMBIAN VIEWS AND PREPARATIONS FOR OAU SUMMIT MEETING ON ANGOLA  
**TAGS:** PREL, PFOR, AO, ZA, CU, UR, OAU, MPLA, UNITA, FNLA, (CHONA, MARK)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006